

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-FOURTH SESSION

*Official Records \**



UN/SA COLLECTION

FOURTH COMMITTEE

32nd meeting

held on

Friday, 30 November 1979

at 3 p.m.

New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 32nd MEETING

Chairman: Mr. LOEIS (Indonesia)

CONTENTS

AGENDA ITEM 90: QUESTION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA: REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (continued)

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Distr. GENERAL  
A/C.4/34/SR.32  
6 December 1979

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

The meeting was called to order at 3.10 p.m.

AGENDA ITEM 90: QUESTION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA: REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (continued)

(A/34/23/Add.1, A/34/88, A/34/111, A/34/126, A/34/171, A/34/179, A/34/186, A/34/187, A/34/220, A/34/228, A/34/279, A/34/346, A/34/357, A/34/389 and Corr.1, A/34/439, A/34/499, A/34/542, A/34/599; A/C.4/34/L.26, L.27)

1. Mr. NOOR (United Arab Emirates) said that he shared the concern expressed by other delegations regarding the threat that the complex problems in Southern Rhodesia and other parts of the world could pose to international peace. The current gap separating the developing and the developed countries did not mean that the latter should exercise hegemony over the former through colonial military expansion or by draining the raw materials of weaker peoples. On the contrary, there was a need for international co-operation based on a mutually beneficial development of resources and joint capabilities for the benefit of mankind as a whole.

2. It was only natural that national liberation movements should be actively combating colonial oppression and racial domination in southern Africa and Palestine. The current illegal régime in Salisbury, which had been established on the basis of unjust elections, had been condemned by all peace-loving countries for the barbarous acts that it had committed not only against the Rhodesian people but also against neighbouring countries. Many resolutions had already been adopted by the United Nations, the Commonwealth countries and the Non-Aligned Movement calling for self-determination, freedom and independence for the peoples of Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia and talks were currently being held at Lancaster House with a view to reaching a solution to the question of Southern Rhodesia. His country believed that any internal solution to the question of Zimbabwe must be acceptable to the Patriotic Front and must clearly and unambiguously stipulate the full transfer of authority to the overwhelming majority of the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front. The transitional phase should be long enough to ensure the peaceful transfer of constitutional powers after proper arrangements had been made for a cease-fire between the conflicting parties. He welcomed the serious endeavours that were currently being made to find a solution compatible with the legitimate aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe and hoped that they would be successful in ensuring the transfer of power to the overwhelming majority, terminating colonial and racist domination, releasing political prisoners and restoring tranquillity to that part of the world.

3. His country believed that the great Powers had a collective responsibility to help the smaller countries to solve their political problems and to fulfil their aspirations for freedom and independence. In view of the close interrelationship between the liberation struggles that were being waged by various peoples, he hoped that the great Powers would take urgent action to put an end to the injustice and oppression to which the Palestinian people were being subjected and which could

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(Mr. Hoor, United Arab Emirates)

only be terminated by the establishment of their independent State on Palestinian soil. The sufferings of the people of Zimbabwe were no less acute than those of the Palestinian people living under Israeli occupation and, if attempts were being made to put an end to the illegalities in Southern Rhodesia, it was only logical that similar endeavours should be made to terminate the Israeli occupation of Palestinian and other neighbouring Arab territories. The peace process in the Middle East was being impeded by Israeli obstinacy in the same way as the racists were obstructing the achievement of a peaceful settlement in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. His country looked forward to the day when the international community and, in particular, the great Powers would show proof of their good intentions by helping to achieve an honourable solution that would enable the Palestinian people to exercise self-determination and establish their State on Palestinian soil. Until such time as a peaceful and just solution could be found to the question of Zimbabwe, his country would continue to support the African liberation movements striving to recover their national sovereignty.

4. Mr. AL-JBORI (Iraq) said that, since the arrival of the first group of white settlers in Southern Rhodesia in 1980, the African population had been exploited, persecuted, deprived of their basic human rights and subjected to racial discrimination and savage police repression under a system that disregarded their economic, health and educational welfare. All of the subsequent changes in the constitution had only perpetuated the barbarous and inhuman practices aimed at ensuring continued domination and exploitation by the white minority. Unlike Malawi and Zambia which had achieved their independence in 1964, Southern Rhodesia had rejected the democratic and peaceful transition to majority rule and self-determination and had declared unilateral independence in 1965. After the United Kingdom had admitted that it was powerless to influence the white minority régime, the Security Council had imposed sanctions under the terms of resolutions 232 (1966) and 253 (1968). Despite the fact that, under the Charter of the United Nations, Security Council resolutions were binding on all Member States, the racist entities in Southern Rhodesia and other parts of the world had not respected those resolutions. The weapons and the nuclear technology which the racist régimes had received from the imperialist Powers posed a serious threat to the security of the world as a whole. The imperialist Powers were primarily responsible for the exploitation and pillaging of resources perpetrated by the racist entities that they had created for the purpose of fomenting trouble throughout the world, thereby providing themselves with an opportunity to intervene in the internal affairs of other peoples.

5. The same imperialist methods had also been used to establish a racist entity in occupied Palestine, where the Zionist authorities had shown themselves to be a powerful ally of the racist régimes in southern Africa with whom they were co-operating in the economic, military, technological and nuclear spheres. Iraq wished to express its support for the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front and condemned the failure of some Member States to meet their obligations by fully implementing the sanctions imposed by the

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(Mr. Al-Jbori, Iraq)

Security Council. The co-operation that the imperialist and Zionist régimes and their transnational corporations were extending to Southern Rhodesia had led to the perpetuation of the Smith régime, thereby delaying the achievement of independence by the people of Zimbabwe. Such co-operation with and among the racist régimes endangered international peace and security, constituted a flagrant violation of human rights and of the right of peoples to self-determination, freedom and independence and enabled those régimes to continue their attacks on neighbouring countries. Iraq rejected the spurious elections that had been organized by the white minority in Southern Rhodesia, strongly condemned the support that certain countries were giving to that racist régime and emphasized its solidarity with the heroic people of Zimbabwe in their struggle to free their country from the racist intruders. Iraq fully supported the just claims that had been made by the Patriotic Front, the sole legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe, at the current talks in London.

6. Mrs. ALI (India) said that in April 1979 her delegation had joined in condemnation not only of the bogus elections which had been held in Zimbabwe, but also of the illegal nature of the constitution under which the elections had been held, and had stated then that free and fair elections were not possible under martial law and with the single most important political party disqualified. That party, the Patriotic Front, had been excluded from the drafting of the sham constitution, and the overwhelming majority of the people of Zimbabwe had not been allowed to participate in the referendum thereon.

7. At the meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth countries held in Lusaka in August 1979, her delegation had pointed out that the package proposed for a solution was only a framework, of which the details had yet to be filled in. The role of the Patriotic Front in filling in those details was crucial and could not be presumed or ignored. Sanctions were not to be lifted until the package had been implemented in full.

8. The United Kingdom representative had informed the Committee of details of the negotiations at Lancaster House, and the representatives of the Patriotic Front had also given their views on the crucial issues pertaining to the question before the Committee. In that connexion, she wished to emphasize the following general considerations.

9. First, her delegation strongly supported a peaceful transition to genuine majority rule in Zimbabwe. The Patriotic Front had consistently expressed willingness to participate in an internationally acceptable settlement for transition to majority rule and independence, efforts to achieve which had been frustrated by the Salisbury régime in order to perpetuate its own control of the Territory. Therefore, any arrangements which emerged from Lancaster House must represent a genuine accord, both in form and in content, subscribed to by all the parties concerned; otherwise, its chances of success would be severely limited.

10. Second, all sections of the Rhodesian population, including those Zimbabweans outside the Territory, must be given the fullest opportunity to return and participate in the political campaigning as well as in the election; otherwise

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(Mrs. Ali, India)

people were likely to doubt whether the election was truly representative. The administrative structure for the maintenance of law and order during the transitional period must not be intimidatory or prejudicial to any one of the parties.

11. Third, the responsibility of the administering Power, which had been asserted in successive Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, must continue until the rights of the people of Zimbabwe had been achieved and Southern Rhodesia had attained full freedom and independence.

12. It was in that context that her delegation viewed with grave concern the continuing acts of aggression and intimidation which the Salisbury régime was perpetrating against neighbouring countries, particularly Zambia. The front-line States had, at great sacrifice to themselves, consistently supported the liberation movement inside Southern Rhodesia. The recent armed attack on Zambia was an example of intimidation by the Salisbury group in an effort to secure greater scope for its own viewpoints in the continuing negotiations.

13. The sanctions imposed by the Security Council had been evaded and violated over the past years, the chief culprits being multinational companies based in Western countries. Nevertheless, the mandatory economic sanctions against the illegal régime had served an important political purpose, and it was therefore incumbent on all Governments to ensure that they were maintained within the framework of the relevant Security Council resolutions, despite the massive and undisguised support provided to the Salisbury Government by the racist minority régime of South Africa. Premature dismantling of the sanctions would be counterproductive.

14. The solution of the problem of the decolonization of Southern Rhodesia could be achieved only through a transition to genuine majority rule and independence. It was of the utmost importance that, in achieving that objective, bloodshed in southern Africa should be avoided and peace and security in the area ensured.

15. Mr. SIDDIQUI (Pakistan) said that while the current stage of the negotiations concerning the question of Southern Rhodesia demanded forbearance and restraint, it was important that the momentum created by the agreements on a constitution and pre-independence arrangements should be maintained, to facilitate the early conclusion of an agreement on a cease-fire. In the circumstances, he would refrain from any comment on the agreements achieved and on the negotiations in progress.

16. It was reassuring to know that the United Kingdom Government was wholly committed to genuine black majority rule in Southern Rhodesia and acknowledged its constitutional responsibility for the granting of legal independence to Zimbabwe. He hoped that differences in the final stage of the negotiations would be solved with the same spirit of compromise and statesmanship as had led to the progress already made.

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(Mr. Siddiqui, Pakistan)

17. Pakistan sincerely commended the leadership of the Patriotic Front for the spirit of goodwill and co-operation that it had demonstrated during the Lancaster House talks. It was imperative that the same spirit of conciliation should be shown by other parties, that the apprehensions which the Patriotic Front had voiced with regard to the cease-fire proposals were taken fully into account, and that the disposition of forces was worked out satisfactorily in a manner that granted equal treatment to both sides. He agreed with the Patriotic Front that no cease-fire could hold without adequate international supervision by an effective monitoring force vested with authority to maintain the cease-fire; the force must stay in Zimbabwe until the independence government had been formed, its authority had been accepted, and independence had been granted.

18. He also agreed with the Patriotic Front that the granting of a constitution to Zimbabwe without resolving the war situation would not solve the problem; the successful implementation of the agreements reached depended on the degree of mutual confidence in the arrangements involved. However, the successful conclusion and implementation of those agreements would not only ensure genuine majority rule for Zimbabwe; it would weaken the forces of apartheid in South Africa and hasten the day when the last bastion of colonialism and racism in Pretoria would fall.

19. The progress so far achieved in the negotiations need give no cause for complacency. The process of implementation would demand patience and understanding; even after agreement on a cease-fire, the world community must be vigilant to ensure that the agreements were scrupulously observed.

20. His delegation had learnt with considerable concern that the United Kingdom Government was contemplating lifting the sanctions as soon as Southern Rhodesia returned to legality. Such unilateral action would contravene the relevant Security Council resolution and would be most inopportune in the present context. He therefore urged the United Kingdom to continue to observe all the provisions of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council until the Lancaster House agreements had been fully and faithfully implemented.

21. He expressed deep appreciation to Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia and their leaders, in particular President Kaunda, whose statesmanship and assistance to the Patriotic Front had accelerated the process of majority rule in Zimbabwe. It was to the credit of the leadership of those States that they had hastened the dismantling of colonialism where it remained. They had nevertheless been subjected to wanton aggression by the illegal racist régimes and had suffered grievously. It was the obligation of the international community to give immediate and substantial material assistance to those States to facilitate the reconstruction of their economies and of their defence capability.

22. The task of rebuilding an independent Zimbabwe also deserved the attention of the international community. The ruthless exploitation of Zimbabwe's resources by the white minority and the vast imbalances of wealth between the two communities had added further strains to the country's war-torn economy. It was the obligation

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(Mr. Siddiqui, Pakistan)

of the international community, particularly those countries which had profited from the exploitation of Zimbabwe's resources, to give economic and financial assistance for the economic reconstruction and social development of an independent Zimbabwe. The organizations and agencies of the United Nations system should also play a part in that respect.

23. Encouraging progress had been achieved on the terms of a new constitution for an independent Zimbabwe and the arrangements for putting that constitution into effect. The agreements were based on principles which Pakistan had consistently advocated, just as it had consistently condemned the unilateral declaration of independence and refused to recognize the illegal minority racist régime in Salisbury. In pursuance of various General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, Pakistan had severed all links with Southern Rhodesia and rejected the internal settlement and the sham elections, recognizing the Patriotic Front as the sole and genuine representative of the people of Zimbabwe. Pakistan had also provided material assistance to Zimbabwe.

24. Mr. FADHLI (Democratic Yemen) said that, in view of current developments and their effects on Africa and elsewhere, the question of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia was one of the most important issues facing the international community. Since Zimbabwe was still under colonial domination and had not had an opportunity to achieve self-determination, the unilateral declaration of independence had been rejected by the international community. The Security Council had imposed sanctions against the racist Rhodesian régime which was endeavouring to uphold the domination of the white minority which constituted only 3 per cent of the total population. The support that the Salisbury régime had received from South Africa and from some European colonial Powers had been universally regarded as an unethical violation of the United Nations resolution.

25. Although the peoples of Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Angola and Mozambique had been subjected to repeated military attacks by the racist terrorists, they had not renounced their aspirations for the establishment of a non-racist system of national government. In the face of the increasing success of the military operations of the Zimbabwe nationalists under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, the imperialist forces had resorted to the stratagem of discussions with a view to the consolidation of the racist minority régime rather than the achievement of a just and peaceful solution. The Patriotic Front had agreed to attend the discussions in London despite the proclamation of a new constitution based on spurious elections which the international community had declared null and void.

26. While commending the good intentions that had been shown by the Patriotic Front, he disapproved of the manner in which the negotiations were being conducted and doubted the impartiality of the administering Power which appeared to be negotiating on behalf of the white minority while putting pressure on the Patriotic Front. He was confident that an independence subject to ambiguously worded conditions and designed to perpetuate the racist minority régime would not be acceptable. The United Kingdom must change its traditional attitude under which it had allowed its oil companies to supply petroleum to the racist régime in

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(Mr. Fadhli, Democratic Yemen)

Zimbabwe and facilitated the training of racist pilots by British military personnel under its supervision. Such acts constituted a violation of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council. The United Kingdom had a political, historical and moral responsibility to help to bring about majority rule in Southern Rhodesia and should therefore exert its utmost endeavours and renounce the arrogant attitude that it had adopted at the London negotiations. If advantage were not taken of that opportunity to reach a peaceful settlement, the Patriotic Front would be fully capable of continuing its armed struggle for the achievement of its noble objectives.

27. Mr. CAMPBELL (Ireland), speaking on behalf of the nine States members of the European Economic Community, said that they had consistently condemned the unilateral and illegal declaration of independence by the Smith régime and had continued to support the efforts of the international community to achieve independence based on genuine majority rule. They warmly welcomed the progress which had been made at the London Conference and wished to commend the parties to the negotiations for their constructive approach and spirit of compromise. Since the agreement reached at the Lusaka meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, agreement had been reached on an independence constitution for Zimbabwe which provided for genuine majority rule, and on the interim arrangements for the administration of the Territory until free and fair elections could be held. The States members of the European Economic Community felt that agreement must be reached on the proposals for a cease-fire as soon as possible, so that the violence in Southern Rhodesia could be ended without further loss of life and destruction. Agreement on a cease-fire would also clear the way for elections and bring about the emergence of a free and independent Zimbabwe.

28. The States members of the European Economic Community hoped that the Committee would not take any action that would prejudice the chances of reaching agreement during the current negotiations. Failure to reach agreement would be a tragedy for southern Africa as a whole, and would inevitably prolong the suffering of the peoples of that region.

29. Mr. PENÁZKA (Czechoslovakia) said that in many resolutions the United Nations had stressed the need for the immediate elimination of the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia and the full and unconditional transfer of all power to the African majority. The struggle of the people of Zimbabwe to achieve their right to self-determination, freedom and independence by any available means had often been recognized. In particular, in Security Council resolutions 423 (1978), 445 (1979) and 448 (1979), the United Nations had condemned all manoeuvres by the illegal régime aimed at the retention of power by a racist minority, rejected any internal settlement concluded or any elections held under the auspices of the racist régime, and called upon all States not to accord recognition to any representative of or organ established by that process. United Nations resolutions had also stressed that the illegal Salisbury régime had been able to remain in power for so long only because of the support and aid it received from some Western States and from the apartheid régime of South Africa. The international community had vigorously condemned all those Governments which, in violation of the relevant resolutions and of Article 2, paragraph 5, and Article 25 of the Charter, continued

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(Mr. Penázka<sup>V V</sup>, Czechoslovakia)

to collaborate with the illegal racist régime. The relevance of those principles had not diminished; on the contrary, they had become more important in connexion with the latest developments regarding the future of the people of Zimbabwe.

30. As the representative of the Patriotic Front had stated, at the London Conference the administering Power had proposed a constitution which differed only slightly from the so-called internal settlement proposed by Smith. Moreover, many of the proposals put forward at the Conference had previously been agreed upon bilaterally with the Salisbury régime, and the Patriotic Front had been pressured to make concessions. Such a situation clearly would not lead to a genuine settlement in Zimbabwe in accordance with the relevant United Nations resolutions.

31. The continuing armed incursions into Zambia and other independent African States clearly demonstrated that it was the intention of the illegal régime to remain in power at any price and to impede the achievement of freedom and independence by the Zimbabwean people. That policy must be vigorously opposed by all States Members of the United Nations which were truly concerned with strengthening peace and security in southern Africa.

32. His Government's position of principle on the question was that a swift and just solution of the Southern Rhodesian problem could and should be achieved only through the immediate elimination of the illegal régime and the transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe through the Patriotic Front. For that purpose, the relevant United Nations resolutions must be fully implemented by all States.

33. Mr. SUWONDO (Indonesia) said that despite the optimism raised by the progress made in the negotiations in London towards a peaceful solution to the question of Zimbabwe, his delegation believed that renewed political will to achieve agreement regarding a cease-fire was badly needed. The parties concerned must redouble their efforts to find a just and acceptable formula which must be faithfully adhered to so that the accession of the Territory to independence could take place smoothly. The alternative was an escalation of the conflict. In that connexion, he drew attention to the statements made by the United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs at the London Conference and by representatives of the Patriotic Front before the Fourth Committee, in which both sides had stressed the need to avoid conflict and further bloodshed in Southern Rhodesia; clearly, all parties were concerned with achieving a speedy and just solution.

34. A solution must be found as quickly as possible so that the suffering of the people could be ended and their energies directed towards the task of building an independent Zimbabwe. The cease-fire negotiations should therefore continue until they reached a positive conclusion. His delegation urged all the parties concerned, including the international community, to contribute positively to the Conference and to refrain from any action which might impede the achievement of a negotiated settlement. The recent attacks on Zambia launched by the Salisbury régime must be condemned, since they undermined the whole process of peaceful

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(Mr. Suwondo, Indonesia)

settlement and increased the threat to peace and security. The international community must express its support for Security Council resolution 455 (1979), in which it had castigated the Salisbury régime for its aggression against Zambia.

35. His delegation would support all relevant United Nations resolutions, including those pertaining to sanctions, until a just and equitable solution was achieved.

36. Mr. PETREE (United States of America) said that his country had consistently supported the goals of majority rule and independence for Southern Rhodesia and the achievement of genuine self-determination for all its people. The United States Government fully supported the United Kingdom Government's efforts to negotiate a peaceful and enduring solution of the Rhodesian problem at the London Conference. His delegation believed that previous joint efforts by the United States and United Kingdom Governments to find an acceptable basis for agreement among the Rhodesian parties to the conflict, as well as the Security Council sanctions imposed against Southern Rhodesia, had played an important role in moving the Salisbury régime to take preliminary steps towards majority rule and had also helped to lay the groundwork for the current negotiations in London. His delegation had welcomed the agreement reached at the Lusaka meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries as a significant step toward achieving a just and lasting settlement in Southern Rhodesia.

37. The credit for the progress that had been made at the London Conference should be shared among all parties, which had shown an admirable willingness to compromise. The United Kingdom Government deserved special commendation for conducting the negotiations in a firm but fair manner. His delegation continued to urge the parties to co-operate with the United Kingdom in order to arrive at a satisfactory agreement on the cease-fire arrangements. An agreement that would bring peace and independence to Zimbabwe would fully justify any compromises that might be required.

38. His Government opposed any action which could jeopardize the current negotiations, and had condemned the recent attacks on Zambia by Rhodesian forces. The quickest way to bring about a permanent halt to violence on all sides was to reach prompt agreement in London and to begin the implementation of the process which would lead to elections in Zimbabwe.

39. The President of the United States had recently informed the United States Congress that, while encouraging progress toward a negotiated settlement and the institutionalization of genuine majority rule had been achieved at the London Conference, it was not sufficient to justify any action by the United States to cease the enforcement of United Nations sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. Any step by the United States in relation to sanctions could jeopardize the negotiations in London and the chances for a successful settlement in Zimbabwe. His Government would keep the question under continuous review, and had stated that it would be prepared to end the sanctions against Zimbabwe-Rhodesia when a British Governor assumed authority in Salisbury and the process leading to impartial elections had begun.

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40. Mr. NIKULIN (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) noted that the situation in Southern Rhodesia continued to deteriorate. The illegal Salisbury régime was stepping up its campaign of terror against the people of Zimbabwe in an attempt to suppress the national liberation movement and to implement the so-called "internal settlement". The illegal and rigged elections of April 1979 had indicated even more clearly the colonialist nature of the "reforms".

41. With South African and imperialist aid and support, the Salisbury régime was escalating aggression against neighbouring States. Its recent aggressive acts against Zambia - condemned in Security Council resolution 455 (1979) - had forced the Zambian Government to take emergency measures to ensure the country's security and sovereignty. The undeclared war being waged by the Salisbury régime against the "front-line" States testified to its firm resolve to maintain its domination of Southern Rhodesia and to its attempts to force those States to abandon their support for the Patriotic Front so that the latter would make further concessions at the current negotiations in London. Those very negotiations were being used by the Muzorewa-Smith régime to foist a neo-colonialist solution on Southern Rhodesia.

42. Previous speakers had rightly pointed out that, following the London negotiations, there should be a speedy transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe through their authentic representative, the Patriotic Front. In its Political Declaration (A/34/542, chap. I, para. 55), the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana in September 1979, had stressed that international acceptance and recognition of the results of the London Conference would be forthcoming only if it established genuine majority rule and independence to the satisfaction of the struggling people of Zimbabwe and was in conformity with the resolutions of the Organization of African Unity, the non-aligned movement and the United Nations.

43. The Patriotic Front's position on the question of a settlement in Zimbabwe was constructive and well-founded. Although engaged in an armed struggle against the illegal régime, the Patriotic Front had nevertheless attended the London Conference, thus indicating its desire for a peaceful settlement. That did not mean, however, that, for the sake of compromise, it was willing to abandon the interests of the Zimbabwean people whom it represented.

44. Notwithstanding the goodwill and constructive approach of the Patriotic Front, however, another party to the negotiations was proposing solutions which in fact had been agreed in advance with the Salisbury régime. The Patriotic Front was being held up as a scapegoat for all the difficulties that arose and as an advocate of the continuation of the war, while being subjected to a campaign of slander. The organizers of the Conference sought to install a régime that responded to the interests of Western imperialist circles. The Salisbury régime would not, of course, willingly relinquish its position. Yet, without the firm support of certain Western imperialist Powers, it would already have sunk into oblivion.

(Mr. Mikulin, Byelorussian SSR)

45. Southern Rhodesia's economy continued to be run by Western monopolies, which maintained firm ties with the Salisbury racists. South African, United Kingdom and United States transnational corporations dominated the Southern Rhodesian mining industry, whose products were largely exported to the West and to South Africa. All the major Western oil corporations colluded in supplying oil to Southern Rhodesia in violation of United Nations sanctions. In 1978 the illegal régime had secretly received a \$150-million loan to enable it to continue to wage war.

46. The monopolistic interests in Southern Rhodesia were safeguarded by the Rhodesian security forces, which included thousands of Western mercenaries. A campaign was now under way in certain Western countries to lift the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, despite widespread condemnation of such a move by the United Nations and other international forums. The Special Committee of 24, in paragraph (16) of the Final Document on the Decolonization of Zimbabwe and Namibia (A/34/23/Add.1, para. 12), had expressed deep concern and indignation at the current moves in the United States and the United Kingdom to lift sanctions against the Smith régime in violation of the Security Council's decisions and had drawn the attention of those Governments to their responsibility and obligation to comply scrupulously with those decisions. Indeed, it was necessary to strengthen the sanctions and to apply additional measures against the Salisbury régime under Article 41 of the Charter.

47. At the current decisive stage in the struggle of the Zimbabwean people, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, to attain their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, the United Nations and all progressive forces must join in a concerted effort to give all possible aid and support to the Zimbabwean people. A constant watch must also be kept over the manoeuvres carried out by the Salisbury and Pretoria racists.

48. In a recent interview reported in Time magazine, Mr. P. Botha, Prime Minister of South Africa, had virtually confirmed that his country was prepared to intervene militarily in Southern Rhodesia on the side of the Muzorewa puppet régime and had openly expressed opposition to the Patriotic Front. As the representative of the Front had stated, South Africa was now preparing additional troops for the Muzorewa régime, and could terrorize the civilian population of Zimbabwe by infiltrating its own units into the country. In the meantime, attempts were being made to create a constellation of racist States in southern Africa as a bulwark to protect Western imperialist interests.

49. In the view of the Byelorussian SSR, only the overthrow of the illegal racist régime would enable the people of Zimbabwe to determine their own destiny. The Byelorussian SSR supported their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence and upheld the legality of their struggle, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, by all available means.

50. Mr. KAMARA (Senegal) said that the debate on Southern Rhodesia was a decisive one, taking place as it did against the background of the Constitutional Conference in London. Unfortunately, that Conference had been characterized by deadlocks, often artificially created, and by ultimatums always addressed to the Patriotic Front.

51. The Front was not, however, responsible for the problem, which in fact dated back to the unilateral declaration of independence by the white minority in Southern Rhodesia in 1965. Since then, both the United Kingdom and the white minority, with the addition of certain so-called "liberal" African elements, had contributed to the difficulties of finding a solution. Over the past five years, various efforts had been made by the Smith régime to reach an internal settlement that would enjoy a semblance of acceptability while maintaining white supremacy. The most recent of those efforts - the Smith-Muzorewa plan, culminating in the agreement of March 1978 - had since been condemned by Africa and the entire international community, preserving as it did monstrous inequalities in favour of the whites for a long period.

52. New initiatives had been taken at the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, held at Lusaka in August 1979, on the basis of further concessions, largely on the part of the United Kingdom, whose Prime Minister was to be commended for her pragmatism and lucidity. The success achieved so far by the London Conference should not cause the United Kingdom's primary responsibility for Southern Rhodesia to be overlooked. Yet certain aspects of the negotiations suggested that the United Kingdom was inclined to favour half-measures that would not be conducive to true independence and black majority rule. Although the General Assembly, in resolution 33/38 A, had condemned the so-called "internal settlement", the United Kingdom Prime Minister had declared in July 1979 that the formation of a new, multiracial Government in Salisbury was a major step forward.

53. Furthermore, the representative of the Patriotic Front, in a recent statement to the Fourth Committee, had described the conduct of Lord Carrington, United Kingdom Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs and Chairman of the Conference, as arrogant, paternalistic and partial.

54. The implementation of the nine points contained in that part of the Final Communiqué of the Commonwealth Conference which related to Southern Rhodesia (A/34/439, para. 15) should not have given rise to all the problems that had been created at the London Conference. Certain difficulties had been raised - often by the United Kingdom - which he felt could easily be solved. Many of the difficulties could be avoided if tried and tested legal and social principles were applied and adapted to the actual situation in Zimbabwe.

55. He noted that further progress was being made in the negotiations with regard to the size of the proposed Commonwealth observer force and the length of its stay in Zimbabwe, as well as the reciprocal disengagement of Rhodesian and guerrilla

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(Mr. Kamara, Senegal)

forces on an equal footing. The co-leaders of the Patriotic Front had apparently declared themselves to be almost satisfied with the results.

56. Should final agreement be reached, all that would remain would be its implementation by the United Kingdom. That country, with its ancient democratic tradition and its long experience of decolonization, had achieved some remarkable success in the decolonization field, but had also had some less fortunate experiences. The case of Southern Rhodesia was one of the most difficult to resolve: the United Kingdom should therefore be on its guard not to repeat certain errors of decolonization which had created situations worse than those which they had been intended to rectify.

57. In conclusion, he reaffirmed his delegation's steadfast support for the Patriotic Front in its efforts to achieve a truly independent Zimbabwe.

58. Mr. PASTINEN (Finland), noting that a peaceful solution in Southern Rhodesia was in sight, recalled that the problem was one in which the United Nations had resorted to mandatory sanctions in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter. The resort to sanctions in 1966 had been based on the Security Council's finding that the situation in Southern Rhodesia constituted a threat to international peace and security - an assessment which had been justified by subsequent events such as the intensified oppression within Southern Rhodesia, the emergence of guerrilla war as a consequence of that oppression and the spread of violence into neighbouring countries. The latest instance was the overt aggression against Zambia with wilful and grievous damage to that country's infrastructure.

59. The effectiveness of sanctions had been severely impaired by the action of the Government of South Africa which had openly defied its obligations under the Charter. Yet in retrospect it was obvious that sanctions had been an indispensable means of bringing about the solution now within reach. Therefore, the United Nations had played a crucial role in creating conditions for a peaceful and internationally acceptable solution based on genuine majority rule.

60. The question of Southern Rhodesia had always been a colonial one and it was therefore natural that the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, should have been called upon repeatedly to assume responsibility for bringing Southern Rhodesia back to legality. The United Kingdom Government was now exercising that responsibility and there was reason to expect that, given the full co-operation of all parties concerned, those efforts would be successful. In that connexion, he paid tribute to the constructive role of the Commonwealth countries, in particular the African front-line States, at the Commonwealth Conference in Lusaka.

61. As the Nordic Foreign Ministers had stated in the communiqué after their last meeting, a peaceful settlement in Rhodesia, acceptable to the parties concerned and to the international community, could only be based on free and fair elections in which all political groupings, including the Patriotic Front, must be afforded equal opportunities.

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62. Mr. VUNIBOBO (Fiji) said that the prospects for a negotiated settlement of the question of Southern Rhodesia seemed to have been enhanced as a result of the Conference now taking place at Lancaster House. He had noted with interest the progress of the Conference, particularly from the informative statement of the Patriotic Front and recent statements of the United Kingdom. It was reassuring to note that agreement had been reached on the future constitution of Zimbabwe and on some major transitional arrangements such as the electoral processes for majority rule. At the meeting of Commonwealth Heads of Government in Lusaka in August 1979 a nine-point plan had been formulated to assist Zimbabwe's transition to peaceful majority rule, and the Lancaster House Conference was an important element of that plan. It was to the credit of the parties directly concerned that the momentum generated at the Commonwealth meeting had thus been actively pursued.

63. He welcomed the achievements of the London Conference designed to take Zimbabwe to genuine majority rule through free and democratic elections. Nothing should impede the free exercise of the inalienable right of the Zimbabwean people to decide their political future for themselves, a right which derived from the Charter as well as from General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV).

64. The importance of agreement on appropriate cease-fire provisions must be stressed, because a serene atmosphere was a vital prerequisite for the conduct of free and democratic elections. It was therefore crucial that no extraneous circumstances should jeopardize the final stages of the current negotiations, and he therefore deplored the continuing Rhodesian military incursions into neighbouring African States, and hoped that such ill-advised stratagems would be abandoned.

65. Mr. SAMIL (Afghanistan) said that economic and military support from certain imperialist countries had allowed the illegal racist régime in Southern Rhodesia to carry out attacks against neighbouring States, which had led to the deaths of thousands of innocent African people. The responsibility for those crimes and violations of human rights rested upon those Western imperialist countries that had supported the illegal racist régime.

66. His country believed that the Government of the United Kingdom, as administering Power, must take effective measures to ensure the right to self-determination and independence of the people of Zimbabwe. The heroic struggle of that people, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, had been supported by peace-loving forces throughout the world and required even stronger world-wide support.

67. In 1979, the United Nations and the international community had made many attempts to find a peaceful solution to the question of Southern Rhodesia. Unfortunately, however, the racist régime, with the support of imperialism and reaction, had shown minimal readiness to respect the resolutions and decisions of the international community. It had, instead, resorted to further aggressive actions and violations of human rights against the Zimbabwean people and independent African front-line States. The so-called internal settlement initiated by the Salisbury régime, which had been rejected in Security Council

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(Mr. Samil, Afghanistan)

resolution 423 (1978), the elaboration of an illegal constitution and the so-called elections held under that constitution were merely manoeuvres engineered by the illegal racist régime, and his country rejected and condemned them.

68. The possibility that the British Government might attempt to lift the sanctions against the Rhodesian régime deserved priority consideration by the Security Council. Such a move, if implemented by any State before the achievement of complete independence and the establishment of a democratic Government in Zimbabwe, would aggravate the already explosive situation on the African continent.

69. His delegation welcomed the framework set forth in the Lusaka Agreement, which would constitute a viable base for leading Zimbabwe to majority rule. It strongly supported the position of the Patriotic Front at the current London Conference. The problem of Zimbabwe required a comprehensive agreement involving a constitution and transitional arrangements, including a cease-fire. The United Kingdom proposal on that subject could not constitute an acceptable framework for an internationally accepted solution of the problem. Any agreement must contain provisions that would lead to the exercise by the people of Zimbabwe of their right to self-determination and independence and must in no way favour the racist régime and colonial forces. The Patriotic Front should receive assurances that the cease-fire would not be violated as well as acceptable security guarantees, especially during the transitional period.

70. His delegation was in full solidarity with all national liberation movements in southern Africa and strongly condemned any policy based on discrimination, colonialism or the continuation of injustice and occupation in any part of the world. It continued to condemn the armed attacks of the racist and illegal régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia against the front-line States, and especially the recent military aggression into Zambia.

71. Mr. PEREZ NOVOA (Cuba) said that the debate on Zimbabwe was being held at a propitious moment, since the administering Power and the Rhodesian racists had been forced to initiate talks with the Patriotic Front. That was due to the heroic struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, led by the Patriotic Front, and the support they had received from the international community, particularly the front-line countries.

72. It was significant that attempts had been made to cut short the talks at Lancaster House. The talks were clearly of great importance, yet did not encapsulate the whole problem of Zimbabwe, much less of southern Africa. The situation in Zimbabwe was more than that perceived in Lancaster House. It was a history of protracted colonial domination, marked by pillage, racialism and death. It was a story of continued aggression against the front-line States, in the hope of ending their support for the national liberation movements. It was linked to the collusion between South Africa and the Western Powers. It threatened international peace and security. The talks were the alternative which the racists and their allies had been forced to accept. They were a response to the international community's support for Zimbabwe.

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(Mr. Perez Novoa, Cuba)

73. The racists and their supporters sought to cling to colonial domination, but had been forced to turn to ostensibly "democratic" alternatives - hence the grotesque monstrosity of the so-called Muzorewa Government, which failed to represent or deceive anyone.

74. The Committee could not be intimidated by claims that what was said might imperil the talks in London. The biased attitude of the administering Power and stance adopted by the Rhodesian racists and their allies were more likely to do that.

75. The Patriotic Front, the legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe, had fought fiercely for national independence and thus achieved recognition by the international community and the United Nations. Yet the administering Power and the Rhodesian racists had constantly sought to undermine that recognition. That disregard of world opinion was not new: witness the decolonization of the Territory in 1965, the violations of United Nations resolutions and the defiance of Security Council decisions.

76. The statement made by the representative of the Patriotic Front had amply illustrated the situation in the Lancaster House talks. The attempt to limit the Patriotic Front forces to only 15 assembly points; the brief period between the cease-fire and the elections, which would prejudice the work of settling and informing the returning refugees; the inappropriate composition of the armed forces; and the presence of mercenary private armies were clear indications of the desire to vitiate the victory of the people's forces. The colonial edifice was not to be torn down, merely given a new facade - that of neo-colonialism.

77. His delegation fully endorsed the Front's position - it was the prerequisite for a successful outcome to the talks. The obstacles to a solution lay not only around the negotiating table, but in southern Africa itself, where the racists' escalation of military activities against the front-line States - particularly the recent attack on Zambia - illustrated their efforts to make the situation more complex and to intimidate those States so that they would lessen their support for the struggle of the Zimbabwean people.

78. A difficult situation had been exacerbated by Mr. Botha's recent statement that South Africa would arrogate the right to intervene in Southern Rhodesia if chaos ensued. Chaos, in Mr. Botha's mind, was equated with victory by the Patriotic Front.

79. He drew the Committee's attention to the view expressed by Mr. Castro and by the Havana Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, that the results of the London talks would only gain international acceptance if they led to a government based on majority rule, in conformity with the resolutions of the OAU, the United Nations and the non-aligned States.

80. The international community should follow the Lancaster House talks and developments in southern Africa closely. It should be prepared to act swiftly to ensure the implementation of the right of the people of Zimbabwe to independence.

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(Mr. Perez Novoa, Cuba)

He urged the international community to be alive to the possibility of South African military intervention in Zimbabwe. It should be made clear to the racists in Pretoria that they could not intervene in Zimbabwe with impunity.

81. He trusted that the Committee would whole-heartedly endorse the position of the Patriotic Front at the London talks. It should be established that any breakdown in the negotiations would largely be the responsibility of the administering Power and of the Rhodesian racists. The Committee should reaffirm its support for the Patriotic Front in its just struggle for independence, whatever means it felt obliged to adopt.

82. Cuba condemned the aggression of South Africa and the racist régimes against the front-line countries, to which it offered its unconditional support. The people and Government of Cuba would steadfastly maintain their material and moral support of the Patriotic Front, in full expectation of its ultimate victory.

83. Mr. VAYENAS (Greece) said that the debate on Southern Rhodesia was taking place in a less difficult atmosphere than in earlier years, thanks to recent promising developments which held out the hope that a political solution might at last be found. Yet the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe had continued over the previous year, causing renewed suffering and increasing the number of innocent victims.

84. During the current critical phase, the parties involved should draw on the suffering of the past to build a solid future, sparing no effort to bring an end to the tragedy of the wretched Zimbabwean people, who were still denied the most fundamental rights.

85. He stressed the importance of the international community's support for the Zimbabwean people, particularly that of the front-line countries, which the Salisbury régime had brazenly attacked in defiance of world public opinion. Those attacks, especially the last incursion into Zambia, had been unanimously condemned by the Security Council.

86. The support of the neighbouring countries had proved even more important at the Lusaka Conference, which had paved the way for the latest promising developments. The constructive attitude of the African leaders had laid the basis of a régime based on majority rule with safeguards for the white minority.

87. He acknowledged the spirit of moderation, flexibility and compromise displayed by all the parties to the London negotiations. The United Kingdom's initiative was greatly appreciated by all the friends of the Zimbabwean people. He trusted that agreement on a new constitution would soon be followed by a cease-fire agreement which would bring an end to the death and destruction. If his optimism were rewarded, the courageous people of Zimbabwe would soon decide the future of their country through freely held elections.

88. Mr. COUMBASSA (Guinea) recalled that the Assembly had for many years discussed the question of Southern Rhodesia, where a racist minority conducted an inhuman policy of oppression, terror and genocide.

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(Mr. Coumbassa, Guinea)

89. The new situation created by the champions of the present régime was grave and confused. The Constitutional Conference had been convened, not through the goodwill of the administering Power, but because the people of Zimbabwe, led by their sole legitimate representative, the Patriotic Front, had intensified and extended their courageous armed struggle. He reaffirmed his country's support for the fraternal people of Zimbabwe in their struggle for freedom.

90. He recalled that at Khartoum in 1978 the OAU had condemned the so-called "internal settlement" stemming from the Salisbury Agreement, and had called upon the international community to withhold recognition from the régime it had spawned.

91. At Belgrade in 1978 the non-aligned countries had endorsed the OAU's decision, dismissing the Salisbury Agreement out of hand. The Agreement had stabbed the people of Zimbabwe in the back.

92. The Smith-Muzorewa clique had thus failed in their attempt to perpetuate their base colonial hegemony in the Territory after independence. Mr. Smith and Bishop Muzorewa had already shown themselves to be mere puppets by launching a colonialist attack on Zambia. Scorning OAU, United Nations and Security Council resolutions, the illegal Salisbury racist régime, backed by most of the imperialist countries and South Africa, was sowing death and destruction throughout the front-line countries. He urged the Committee to shoulder its responsibilities and accept its duty of solidarity with the Zimbabwean people by considering the facts.

93. He had listened carefully to the statements of the United Kingdom and the Patriotic Front. It was difficult to respond to the United Kingdom's call for moderation so as not to prejudice the outcome of the London negotiations. He wanted to see the taking of practical steps and fair decisions which respected the legitimate aspirations of the Zimbabwean people. The best thing for Southern Rhodesia would be the ending of colonial domination and the immediate transfer of power to the majority.

94. He questioned whether anything would come of the London negotiations. What place had been given to the Patriotic Front, to which a full transfer of power was to take place? How could free and fair elections be held in Rhodesia, when the population had been dispersed by the long conflict? It was hard to believe that the forces of the illegal racist Smith-Muzorewa régime, to which responsibility for security during and after the elections was to be entrusted, would undergo any miraculous conversion.

95. Security and peace in Zimbabwe would largely depend on precisely how independence came. That was of concern to the United Nations and to the international community.

96. There were several prerequisites for the holding of valid elections: hostilities should be ended; political prisoners should be released with full civic rights; displaced persons should be resettled in their homes; a reasonable time - agreed with the Patriotic Front - should be allowed for refugees to return and be entered on the electoral roll; the mercenaries should be disarmed and their activities ended; and impartial security forces should be used to guarantee the frontiers and internal order.

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(Mr. Coumbassa, Guinea)

97. He reaffirmed his country's whole-hearted support for the fraternal people of Zimbabwe in their just struggle for genuine independence. Their sacrifices would not be in vain; they would surely triumph.

98. Mr. ERAN (Israel), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that he would not stoop to calling the representative of Iraq the "representative of the Ba'th racist entity", although the epithet was fitting. Iraq not only resorted to racist methods within its own frontiers, but was engaged in subversion in almost every State on the Persian Gulf.

99. The Iraqi Government had long been engaged in annihilating peoples. Its racist doctrine could not come to terms with anything which was not totally Moslem-Arab.

100. Jewish links with what the representative of Iraq termed Palestine predated the arrival of the Arab tribes in Mesopotamia, and the accession of Iraq to independence.

101. The ridiculous attempt by the representative of Iraq to compare the situation of Israel with that of Southern Rhodesia involved convoluted logic. If that logic were pursued, then the United Kingdom had erred in granting independence to one element of the population of Mesopotamia at the expense of the others.

102. The representative of Iraq had accused Israel of collaborating with South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Those allegations were quite groundless. Israel had condemned the unilateral declaration of independence by Southern Rhodesia in 1965, and had always fully complied with Security Council resolution 253 (1968). There were no links of any kind between Israel and Southern Rhodesia.

103. Mr. AL-JBORI (Iraq), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that, as usual, the representative of the racist Zionist entity had distorted the facts. General Assembly resolution 3379 (XXX) of 1975 had designated zionism as a form of racism and the authorities in Tel Aviv had stated quite openly that they were co-operating with the racist régimes in southern Africa. The presence of 800 Israeli mercenaries among the forces of the racist Rhodesian régime was a clear indication that the survival of those racist régimes was dependent on their mutual co-operation and on the support that they were receiving from international imperialism. Despite the troubles that Israel and the intelligence services and agents of imperialism had fomented in Iraq, his entire country was currently enjoying peace, stability and prosperity and most, if not all, of the Kurdish and other citizens who had been misled, instigated and trained by imperialist intelligence services and Zionist organizations were returning voluntarily to the country.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.